/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green palm. Each rung is made of a bundle of two (big marid'do) or three (small marid'do) sections. Gradually during the construction, the ladder is rolled up on itself until it forms, in the largest example, a disk 1.50
• [283] meters in diameter. The two sides are then decorated with green palm, held in place by a net of cords made of women's hair. The top of the disk is decorated for a length of about 50 cm. with applications of down. The large marid'do is called
[614] ɛ̀wâguddudoge cŏreŏ marid'do; the small one, ɛ̀wâguddudoge kujagoreŏ marid'do. But it is not necessarily natives of this clan who have made them. Some time before the festival the two marid'do are solemnly taken out of the men's house and taken to the middle of the bororo, where they are placed parallel, about two meters apart, and on the axis separating the phratries. The dance of the marid'do lasts two days; each protagonist tries to lift one of the disks at arm's end and to hold it as long as possible while running and jumping in the plaza. Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony (Pl. VIII, C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X, B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

614 other with food, at least among the men. For, aside from the
264 meals taken in the male club and those brought to the dancers
345 at the end of each ceremony, each family provides its own food in its private house.

614 Clan privileges rest in exclusive possession of names, songs,
626 dances, and emblems, and in special rights to the utilization /288/
424 of certain techniques, certain objects, and certain materials. These prerogatives are strictly respected. An Indian whom we asked what would prevent a clan's making the ornaments of its neighboring clan for itself considered the suggestion absolutely improbable. Faced with our insistence he told us that the members of the clan would certainly become angry and inflict a correction on the offender; but such incidents, it appears, never happen.

Concrete Expressions of the Social Structure

829 Figures 16 to 19 /see pp. 26, 29, 31, and 32/ summarize what we were able to gather of these concrete expressions of the social structure.

Objects

411 Bows. One finds three types of bows in Kejara:
the ordinary bow, of bare wood, undifferentiated;
the bow for big hunting (Fig. 16). It is identical to the pre-
[531] ceding, but on parts of the sector of bare wood which the left
[824] hand grasps and of the sector covered with rope to protect the wood
● [283] from the rubbing of the arrow, the wood is decorated with white rings made from the bark of an uaguassũ (noid'do) palm tree and
[614] fastened on with ligatures of vegetable fiber. The number of these rings and their arrangement in relation to the middle of the bow distinguish the clans.

[Text Continues on p. 27]

/291 cont./

411 The wood of specimen D is bare, and the clan marking is
531 formed by notches cut in the arrow feathers. This process is
614 rather rarely used.

B is adorned with a plait of black thread and porcupine quills,
[239] decorated with red feathers and tufts of red and white quill feathers. This formula is repeated in most of the objects of the Bakoro and Bóro clan, who doubtless got it after the disappearance /292/ /Figure 18 appears here/ /293/ /Figure 19 appears here/ /294/ of the Bădejebage Bokodori, and today use it in preference to its own formula (H) (see Note II /p. 41/.

I and L constitute two variants of the Āróre colors (red and black). Such variations are extremely frequent. Each individual interprets his clan's formula in his own way.

53| The colors blue and yellow (A), separate or together,
614 generally characterize the Paiwe clan. But the mark of this clan seems to lie less in the use of certain colors than in a certain process of distribution of the colors in alternating bands of
[301] equal or different lengths. Thus, a feather-covered fishbone
[291] pendant of the Paiwe clan presents the following distribution (short bands in small letters, long bands in capitals):

BLUE-red-blue-red-blue-red-BL. -y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-y.-b.-y.-b.-y.-B.-r.-b.-r.-B.

[534] The same decorative process is found on a Paiwe ceremonial trumpet with alternating colors red, blue, black, and white.

291 Ornaments. The Bororo of the male sex live completely nude, with the exception of various ornaments and a penis band
[283] (bá). This indispensable accessory is made of a ribbon of palm-tree fiber, about 50 cm. long, first folded back on itself for 10 cm., and then tied twice in such a way as to form a conical loop open at its end. This loop covers the end of the penis, and the foreskin, pulled outside through the terminal opening, forms a bulging part and holds the whole (Pl. VII, C /see p. 45/). Once the double loop has been made, a piece of ribbon remains free, from eight to 16 cm. long; this piece is cut level with the
000 loop in the bá for everyday wear. In contrast, on ceremonial

[Text continues on p. 33]

/297 cont./

Division of Labor

462 Finally, it is impossible to study the distribution of rights and obligations between the clans and phratries, without taking into account the fact that across these varieties of social regulation a strict division of labor between the sexes is maintained. The women cultivate the land, prepare the food, do the basketry and ceramics; they feed the fire and chew the bark which is used to cover the sexual organs. The men hunt and fish, build the houses, and carry out all the work of an artisan character. We never observed spinning. All the masculine labors are carried out in the men's house, which has the appearance of a vast workshop. Only two tasks are done in the familial house: depilation of the women's forehead area, which furnishes the hairs used to make cords and various ornaments; lastly, weaving the cotton bands with which married women bind their ankles, arms, and wrists (Pl. X, A /see p. 48/) is a male obligation always carried out at home.

/298/ Note I

614 779 It will have been noted that most of the clans and subclans bear the name of an animal or vegetable. This is the case for the four Tugare clans and for six of the eight Cera clans or subclans. Can one use the word totemism in this respect? It is very doubtful. The natives do not maintain, in fact, any relation with their eponyms. They do not show them any respect, their relations do not have any mystical character, no food prohibition exists, and the few ceremonies which take place upon the killing of certain animals seem to be unrelated to the social system. The eponymous animal is freely killed and eaten.

614 Moreover, the choice of eponyms is not made exclusively from the animal or vegetable kingdom. Sometimes a hero is invoked. Hence we find Bakoro for the Bakoro clan, and the illustrious ancestor who gives his name to the extinct Kario Bokodori clan. The Bóro are named after a manufactured object, the

2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

or a black equivalent during menstruation; it is attached either to a girdle or to a tight-fitting bark corset.

Except for the exclusively masculine feather head ornaments, labrets, and nose ornaments (pls. 90, *top*; 94), the sexes use the same type of decoration. It is customary for men to manufacture necklaces and ear ornaments as a wedding gift for their brides.

Urucú provides red body paint and wards off insects, but on the São Lourenço River, it is used in moderation. The *Bororo* spread viscous rosin over their bodies, to which they then stick bird feathers, thus sometimes covering all of their arms. This is largely a curative measure against sores rather than a purely decorative device.

The men employ head ornaments to a considerable extent (pls. 92, *left*; 93). There are semicircular fans of arara feathers worn above the forehead; small fans of flexible feathers tied to the forehead so as partly to obscure the vision; and still other arrangements.

Koslowsky (1895 b) ascribes to all his *Western Bororo* the practice of wearing amulets composed of the tooth of a wild canid or a feline species.

TRANSPORTATION

Canoes were quite unknown in the west and in the São Lourenço River region, though on the Vermelho River they occur in recent times. Both sexes are adept at swimming. Men swam across rivers, holding aloft their bows, to which the arrows were tied horizontally, and simultaneously carried their game on their chests, fastened below their arms. Women swam with their burden-baskets full of nuts and roots, tying these receptacles in fours to wooden sticks and guiding them by ropes. On land they carried the baskets on their backs by a bast sling that merged into a tumpline in front.

MANUFACTURES

The men work mainly in their club house.

Spinning and plaiting.—In the family home, men merely pluck from the women's heads the hair subsequently to be made into cordage, and plait cotton bands for feminine arm, wrist, and ankle decorations. They spin both cotton and human hair on a shaft with a shell or clay disk 1½ to 2 inches (3.8 to 5 cm.) in diameter for a whorl. Holding the flock of cotton or several hairs with the left hand attached to the uppermost quarter of the spindle, i. e., the part above the whorl, they roll the longer section of the shaft on the right thigh. The thread thus formed above the whorl is ultimately wrapped around the long section of the shaft. Palm fiber is twisted on the thigh by hand. Often the big toe helps in making thread. Hair threads are plaited into cords worn round the hair of the head or body, but also into wrist-guards. True weaving does not occur (fig. 51, *a*, *b*).

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

765
531

placed in the special basket that is to be their final repository. Then the skull, still resting on its little mat, is placed in the basket on top of the other bones. The edges of the basket are sewed together with a wooden needle and fiber cord, and until its final burial a few days later, it is hung in the house of the deceased's relatives.

[283]

[p. 48-A]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

578 enjoy the sport. The fighters tumble, kick, and bite, and scratch with the poisonous spur or spine from the tail of a fish similar to the skate secured to their little fingers. Their endurance is marvelous and the fight may continue many hours, sometimes nearly all day, both parties constantly uttering their yells. The defeated party leaves the village, and the woman becomes the victor's prize.

241 412 The Bororó, like most other savage men, look to nature to furnish them with nearly all their food. About the only thing they cultivate is a little yellow corn, and even this with great difficulty, for they have no steel instruments. They are communistic, and therefore little inclined to attempt anything extensive in the way of agriculture or to provide a stock of food, for if one family should do this, it would only be to divide the harvest with the rest of the community and leave themselves with nothing for the morrow. There is thus no incentive for labor except when hunger drives them in 433 search of food. The Bororó is therefore acquainted with about everything edible in his environment, and he knows when and 226 where and how to obtain it. The river is by far his most important source of supply, and when fish are abundant in December, January, 222 and February he grows fat. The rest of the year he is obliged to look largely to the woods for food, though he is a more expert fisherman than hunter, and individual families wander abroad through bush and forest along the rivers. As to fruit and vegetables, the palm is his never failing friend. It will always provide him with something when naught else can be found. At every season of the year he may obtain the white cheese-like heart of a diminutive palm. The fibrous trunk of two or three other varieties, pounded and wrung out, gives a starchy, liquid-like milk which, when boiled in a clay pot and mixed with the yellow fruit of the burity, makes good soup; or he may dry the starch and make it into bread. Another palm, called burity by the Brazilians, yields a yellow fruit bigger than a very large plum, which he eats with a relish, though we considered it very insipid. Still another species furnishes an unfailing supply of nuts about the size of a goose egg. This he throws into the fire for a few minutes, then removes the thin outer shell, and scrapes off and eats a thin insipid substance very much like the inner bark of the slippery elm. He then splits open the remainder of the thick shell and obtains a white woody kernel, which he eats raw or pounds in a wooden mortar and makes into a loaf to be wrapped in a large leaf and baked into bread in the [283] ashes. This is considered quite a delicacy. The palm also furnishes material for his bows and for the shafts of his arrows. The

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
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long tongue-like leaf furnishes a silk or band of strands called bokigo, which he rolls into a single strand as he sits cross-legged on the ground, and by twisting this strand with others he obtains cording with which to make his fishing nets, harpoon lines, etc. From the ground he digs two or three varieties of the potato family, which he boils. Corn is eaten as roasting ears or cut from the ears and boiled. They use no salt. The large ant bear is considered the most valuable of all creatures. Nearly every part of its body is utilized. When discovered it is driven to the village for slaughter in order to secure its blood. After this comes the tapir, which is also greatly esteemed. When food is plenty they eat nearly all the time when awake, and even rise several times in the night to take a little food. While we were in the baehytu at the Kogy ao Paro village we saw 33 men devour upwards of 25 gallons of boiled shelled corn within an hour and a half, and they had been nibbling roast ears all the morning. The two men who had accompanied us from the Ja-Dare-Mano Paro were induced to eat from every pot as they were brought in one at a time. They seem never to get full, and will eat as long as there is anything to be had. While at work making bows and arrows and ornaments, they are nibbling food, if they can obtain it. They eat the corn mush squatting and standing around the pot, using large oyster-like shells or broad leaves as spoons.

Their language seems quite free from clicks and from deep gutturals. The names given to animals are often in imitation of the sound produced by the animal. Ki, for instance, means tapir, and is a close imitation of the note of this animal; pobu means river or water; pobu camahina is great river; meri rutu, sunset; adugo, spotted tiger or ounce; and aigo, brown ounce. Báekimo is the negative; Boe by báekimo means "Indian die not"—"I will not die."

They are wonderful whistlers and seem able thus to communicate whatever they otherwise would by speech.

All the fine and ornamental work is done by the men. A great deal of time and labor is spent in making seemingly unimportant articles, and the time consumed in shaping and burnishing an arrow is astonishing, generally the larger part of two days. The shell ornament worn around the neck is made by the reciprocating motion of the point of a sharp instrument of flint or of iron or steel, if they can obtain it, fastened near the center of a roughly shaped shell. A fire is kindled in the same way by boring a wooden rod into another bit of wood. When holes have been made in bits of roughly

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

Uneven holes have been made in bits of roughly
321 shaped shells they are strung tightly together on a cord or rod, and
322a bit of grinding stone is rubbed up and down their edges till they are of equal size. A wide belt is made by placing two bamboo rods in the ground two feet or more apart and winding around them the thread that is to serve as warp, placing each thread close beside the preceding one. The woof is then worked with the fingers and a wooden blade.

222 Wild cotton is pulled out and rolled into thread by hand just as the
● 223 fiber of the palm is made into cord.

411 Bows and arrows are used in war, but they prefer to fight at close quarters with a club of heavy wood, shaped nearly like a baseball bat, about 3½ feet long. A smaller club is also used as club or sword.

852 The ceremony of naming baby boys is very interesting. Early in the morning the family and friends, with the little one coated and ornamented with feathers of crimson and white, accompanied by a
[304] priest, take up a position on the highest ground near the village. At sunrise, the priest pierces the lower lip of the embryo warrior with a long, sharp, bone-pointed instrument made for the occasion and decorated with many-colored feathers. At the same time he pronounces "Piadudu" or the name of some bird, animal, or object whose name the child is to bear. "Piadudu," softly repeat the family and friends, and thus "Piadudu," humming-bird, a favorite name, be-
551 comes the name of the child. They are very jealous of their names and will not make them known to any one not belonging to their tribe, always when asked responding "parduko"—I do not know.

562 A woman is totally disfranchised and can scarcely consider herself a citizen. She is merely an adjunct to the man.

515 These savages, although so filthy in their habits, are sometimes quite sensitive to noxious odors, and we were sometimes much amused to see them rush about in disgust to escape some disagreeable odor.

501 They make no canoes, but are satisfied with small rafts sufficient to float their cocoanuts or mano down the river.

142 The Bororó are the tallest of any South American Indians I have seen. I do not remember one man under five feet seven inches, and they are sometimes six feet three or four inches tall. They are full faced, the nose well shaped and not large nor particularly flat, nor are the cheek bones especially prominent. Many of the children and some of the young men are quite handsome.

161 The tribe is supposed to number between five and ten thousand
114 souls. We visited eight villages and settlements.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

family came to us often, saying "*Nagarrda by—tapira.*" (My child die. I would like a piece of beef.) Sometimes he begged for other things, saying, for example, "My child die; I would like a handkerchief, red." 123 764

The smart young men of the tribe, who, like their civilized brothers, are fond of dress and display, wear suspended from a hole in the lower lip, a chain of bright shells six inches long, terminating in a brilliant crimson feather. But the older men, who no longer care for fashion and show, discard this ornament and wear only a wooden plug in the hole, as they are unable to drink when it is open, it being very large. 301 [304]

The young women, and girls over six years of age, wear a kind of corset made of the inner bark of a tree. It looks much like the sides of a cheese box, is twelve inches broad, hard and stiff. It must be very uncomfortable when first worn. In addition to this primitive corset, the females wear a long strip of soft inner bark eight inches broad and resembling brown canvas, which is specially prepared. It is passed between the legs, and each end, at the back and in front, is tucked in between the upper edge of the corset and the body. It is made of the same kind of bark as that used by the Karayá, but does not drop down in front, apron-fashion, as with the Karayá. Adorned with these articles, the females consider themselves fully and decently dressed, and would not think of appearing in public without them. 291 289 [171]

Crescents, evidently in veneration of the moon, are worn constantly by both sexes, suspended from the neck; also rows, six or eight inches long, of monkey, tiger or wolverine teeth. They seemed to prize these decorations very highly, and were always loathe to part with them. The huge horn claws of the *tatú canástro*, the giant armadillo, are also much valued, and worn hanging from the neck. 301 237

Many of the men wear, wound around the head, a rope ten or fifteen yards long, made by braiding together human hair which was cut off or jerked out during funeral ceremonies. The men also tied the bright-colored handkerchief, obtained 301 [283] [764]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Chapter XXXIII.

WEAPONS.—THE BLOW GUN.—HUNTING.—MARVELOUS FISHERMEN.—THE MANO RACE.—THE WILD MAN'S EVENING ANTHEM.—WOMAN.—UNIQUE MARRIAGES.—FIGHTS.—PRIMITIVE ARITHMETIC.

411 The weapons of the Bororó, used both in war and in the chase, are huge bows that are longer than the archer is tall, spear-like arrows four or five feet in length, and two styles of clubs, made of iron-like wood, one of which is shaped like an enormous dagger.

[824] They obtain the wood for their bows from a certain palm-tree, and the fibre with which to make their bow strings [283] from the long, slender foliage of another plam. The fibre is stripped out of the green leaves by the primitive artisan, and twisted, or spun, by rolling between the palm of the hand and the leg above the knee as the spinner sits, cross-legged, on his palm-leaf mat, and lastly, these strands are twisted dexterously into cordage in the same manner. The bow is usually wound half its length with reserve string.

The arrows are made by skilfully fitting together three [824] different pieces of wood. The point, or spear part, is made either of taquara or palm-wood, and in a variety of forms, according to the use to be made of it. Broad blade points are used in hunting large game, and for war, while various styles of harpoon points are used for fishing. A special kind of arrow is made which is six feet in length and very

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whetstone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

BO /193 cont./
291 of the Paraguay that they wear, not the cuff, but the string:
17 "The men tie only the glans around their abdomen by means of
283 a fine bast thread, so that they keep themselves free of insects
and are not hindered in running."

B All methods, with slight variations, achieve the same re-
*17 sult, the covering of the glans, either by simply extending the
291 praeputium or by tying it up besides and even also enclosing it
in palm straw.

B As for the women, I have mentioned that they all remove
302 the pubic hair.

B The Suyá women, who adorned themselves with neck chains
30 and wore thick, rolled-up palm-leaf strips resembling tape meas-
291 ures in their pierced ear-lobes, went about completely naked.

T The Trumaí women wore a band of soft, grayish-white
29 bast; it was twisted into a rope so that there was concealment
289 only within the most modest limits and surely could not have been intentional, since merely a wider strip could have been used. They rolled a long, narrow, folded bast-strip up a little at one end, held this little roll with one hand pressed against the lower corner of the mons pubis, twisted the free strip around themselves several times with the other hand, and drew it up toward the back between the legs, came to the front again to the little roll, pressed it to them with the strip drawn across it, and turned back over the other hip to the small of the back, where they twisted in the free end and tied it securely.

BO The Bororó women likewise had the soft, gray bast band,
29 which they replaced by a black one during the menses, but they
287 fastened the band to a hip cord. Twisted in there in front, three
841 to four fingers wide, it ran, becoming narrower, over the fissure of the vulva and the perineum to the small of the back and was
BO again tied to the hip cord. In place of the hip cord, a wide,
287 tightly embracing piece of bark was also worn around the body.
See the illustration, "Bororó, Mother and Daughter" /see p.589 /.

/478 cont./

239
301 Teeth were primarily worked into chest ornaments; the most popular ones were large jaguar teeth, usually two pairs plaited together, and small monkey teeth, several transverse rows of which were joined into a piece up to 30 centimeters wide /479/ extending almost across the entire chest; cf. Plate I /see p. i/ and Fig. 129 /see p. 589/. It was extremely seldom that women were also given these ornaments and, since it is usually reported of the other Bororó that only the men adorned themselves, is probably to be traced back to the upheaval caused by the colonization. It was characteristic that the Indian-thinking and Portuguese-speaking Clemente called the teeth plaited together rosarios, rosaries; in connection with this ornament, the Indians had the idea that it makes one strong and agile. They also extracted teeth from Brazilian prisoners and hung these around themselves; lower jaws of the enemy were worn in the same way. They also promised themselves protection from hair of the dead, which was spun into thread and then plaited into cords which were very difficult to obtain; bunches of hair hung down, along with the feathers, from the arm bands.

Fig. 134. Arara ear-feather. Bororó. (1/6 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

Fig. 135. Chest ornament of armadillo claws. Bororó. (1/3 nat. size/ as shown in the original illustration/.)

/483 cont./

411 club, the bow was also the sole weapon of war. It is said of the Bororó dos Campos that they "seldom" had lances, with points of iron, bone, or stone. The club of the S. Lourenço was one and a third meters long, a rather flat piece of palm wood which was three to four centimeters wide and ended in a blade only five to six centimeters wide.

No. 5 in Figure 137 /see p. 605/ shows us the ordinary bow, baíga. It is up to 1.9 meters long and, at a width of a third of a [283] meter, is wound with a palm-fiber cord, a reserve bowstring that usually forms the continuation of the stretched bowstring; cf. Plate 411 28 /see p. 600/. The bows carried on festive occasions by chiefs 237 and regarded as ceremonial gifts, the ornamentation of which [554] is shown on No. 1, have magnificent feather ornaments. The wood has colorful small arara feathers pasted over it, either red and yellow or blue and yellow, with white down in between, and the end held up is crowned with a tuft of like-colored feathers. The colorful tuft sometimes also adorns the ordinary hunting bow. 411 The fortunate slayer of a jaguar, finally, is distinguished by the [531] bow of No. 2; on it are put a dozen small yellow bands of [554] oaussú palm leaf (Attalea spectabilis). The bows have a rather [824] flat back, whereas the surface facing the bowstring is more convex, the opposite of the Paressí bows.

[824] The arrows have a shaft either of kambayuva reed or of the elegant black seriba palm straw (Avicennia). On the pencil-thin seriba shafts is set an end-piece of reed on which the tail feathers are attached; they are carefully planed with pierced Bulimus shells and more smoothly polished with lischa leaves, which are rough like sandpaper.

/484/ /Fig. 137 appears here./

/485/ Common to all arrows are the two pinions put on with a spiral twist and fastened at the upper and lower end; on the illustrations one can see how the shaft of the feather stands out from the reed of the arrow in a slight curve. A few rings of small, dainty feathers are often also put on between them.

[Text continues on p. 606]

/487 cont./

321 by breaking up a shell and /488/ polishing the edges of the pieces on stone. In this way they bored through teeth and squeezed those that were small in an oaussú nut, several beside one another, so that they would not slip. Also peculiar was their method of making beads out of the carapace of the armadillo. It represents an arched shield made up of numerous small polygons; on the inner side of each polygon there is a natural pin-point depression: the twirl-borer was placed in this, and only after the entire shield was thus evenly perforated like a sieve, was it broken up into the individual small plates, which were strung in a row and polished round.

285 [765] → [142] 301 [302] ←

Fig. 141. Bororó woman with breast strings and arm bands.

Basket-bags into which the bones were packed at the ceremony for the dead, square fire-fans which were also used as plates or were tied on a handle like small flags in order to be used to ward off mosquitoes, and the large sleeping mats made of the oaussú palm leaf (two meters long, 90 centi-[462] meters wide) were plaited. The pouch-shaped carrying baskets apparently were plaited by the women.

283 [462] The men spun. The men's house a spinning room! I confess it gave me an adventurous feeling when I saw for the first time one of these hunters loosening flocks of cotton by jerking them on a bowstring. They spun cotton and the hair of their dead, but in a manner different from that of the women on the Kulisehu. The spindle whorl, four to four and a half centimeters in diameter, was a disk of shell or clay and sat on the upper fourth of the little stick stuck through it. While the left hand held the drawn-out

/488 cont./

283 flock or a few hairs placed together and had fastened them to the short end of the stick, the larger part of the little stick, below the whorl, would be rolled on the right thigh with the right hand, the spindle being held slantwise; thus, the thread was formed on the shorter part of the stick above the whorl. The finished thread was wound on the long part below the whorl.

The hair-threads were plaited into a cord which was worn around the head hair, around the waist, or, for protection against the snapping of the bowstring, around the wrist. Palm fiber cord was twisted by hand on the thigh. The great toe was often used in string work.

[286] Actual weaving, that is to say, the interlacing of threads crossing at right angles, was unknown. The men made narrow [301] bands out of cotton threads, /489/ into which porcupine quills were plaited and which were worn like suspenders, cf. Figs. 141 /see p. 610/ and 129 /see p. 589/, as chest strings by both sexes, as well as arm bands by artfully interlacing threads between two thin rods.

461 How elegantly and neatly the men worked was particularly striking in the making of arrows. There were so many small dexterous movements which one would have expected only from the delicate hands of women. Among these I include particularly the decoration with tiny colored feathers, each of which was placed on the ground one by one and carefully arranged.

Nor can there be more chatter and laughter in a spinning room than there was here in the baitó. True, it was not very womanly when suddenly, for the sake of variety, two of the workers got up and staged a regular wrestling match which was watched with great interest by the others. They stood up, wrestled, threw each other, and resumed their work or lay down again for 517 dolce far niente. For comfortable idlers were never lacking; [832] and there was also seldom lacking, though the women otherwise stayed away, a loving couple who lay under a common red coverlet and dallied. No one paid any attention to them except a few friends troubled by mild jealousy, who at the moment were being neglected by the common lover and had to be content to sit beside the pair and chat with them.

241 people went hunting and fishing. Only men did the field work, clearing the field together, but each family head planted his part of the field. If the crops did not grow well the ghosts were asked to cure the field.

252 Bitter manioc was prepared for food in two ways. First, unpeeled tubers were left to soak in water for 2 days, then squeezed in a strip of bast or a piece of cotton cloth. After the skins and fibers were picked out the pulp was rolled into balls and dried. The dry balls were later ground in a mortar, and the meal was sifted in a circular buritĭ fiber sieve and stored in baskets. When a woman wished to bake she placed some of the meal in a shallow pot, dampened it with water, and placed it on the fire to produce *juku-póto*, "beizhŭ." By the second method they produced chicha (*zumima*). The tubers were peeled and grated, and the pulp, mixed with water, was boiled for several hours until it formed a thick paste. This preparation was eaten when cooled. Sweetpotatoes and maize were roasted; and fish and meat were broiled over a babracot.

HUNTING AND FISHING

411 [726] The siriva palm wood bow (*boĭko*) is used in fishing and hunting, and formerly it was used in war. Umotina bows ranged from 5 to 7 feet in length, 2 inches in width, and an inch in thickness in the middle. In cross section the bow is oval, often somewhat more flat on the inner side. Siriva wood is black with white streaks, but with age and polishing the bow turns jet black. Slight [283] shoulders are notched at each end to hold the bowstring (*boĭko*) made from tucum fiber, the extra length being wound above the handhold. 411 224 The 5-foot arrow (*ĭsho*) is made by fixing a notched canela or siriva foreshaft to a taquara shaft. This point is used for fish and small game. Bamboo points are used for big game such as tapir, jaguar, and peccary. All arrows excepting those used in fishing are feathered with urubŭ or mutŭm feathers. A feather about 8 inches long is split and the halves are fastened to the arrow with twine lashings about one-eighth inch apart, which are then covered with pitch.

226 [824] Fish were shot from the banks and, in shallow pools, were drugged with timbó. Women used a cast net fastened to an oval hoop (*bŭkye*) for catching small fish after they were drugged.

[p. 107 (4)]

224 Men hunted all the local game singly or in groups,
[231] but in former times did not use dogs.

Women make pots (*porikupú*) of various sizes,
462 all shaped like half of an egg shell. Both men
[323] and women make baskets of two types. One,
[285] shaped like the pots, called *kethodókwa*, is an openwork burden basket about 24 inches high and 16 inches across at the top and is made from aguasu palm leaves. The other, which is in fact a bag, is made from the cortex of buriti palm fronds. This bag (*yethabótho*) is used for storing
[286] feathers, twine, and ornaments. Men weave the sleeping mats from the same material used for making the burden baskets. Women spin cotton,
● [283] using the spindle (*kdlaka*) spun on the ground. Cotton materials are woven by women on an upright loom (*ipokápa*).

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

622 In the past the chief (*kutorikána*) was not only
721 an economic and ceremonial leader but a war
[623] leader as well. Although the son of the chief had a right to succeed his father, the actual decision was made by all the men in council. The Umotina say that they used to fight with a tribe called Abusé that lived to the north of them and with white men. When the chief decided on a raid he blew his horn (*ipóna*) made from the shell of an
[714] armadillo. The men then made arrows and war clubs, and just before attacking they painted themselves black with genipapo and glued feathers on their temples. The Umotina used a shield made by stretching tapir skin on a square wooden
727 frame, and they poisoned their arrows. When
[301] attacking they killed the men but sometimes kept some of the younger women. They cut off
[266] the heads of their enemies and used the teeth to make necklaces. The heads of white men were boiled and eaten.

601 The kinship system of the Umotina is of the Hawaiian type. In the grandparents generation there are terms for grandfather (*iyokomishína*) and grandmother (*imakomishóto*) which are extended to the siblings of the grandparents. In the parental generation there are just two terms, father (*iyóko*) the term being extended to cover father's brothers and mother's brothers, and the term mother (*imáko*) which is extended to cover mother's sisters and father's sisters. In ego's generation there are terms for brother (*amána*) and

[p. 107 (B)]